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ABSTRACT

This document demonstrates how social cartography can be used in social research to include individuals and cultural clusters who want their own narratives included in the social discourse. Social cartography is defined as the creation of maps addressing questions of location in the social milieu. Visual images, depicting on the two dimensional surface of paper or screen the researcher's perceived application, allocation, or appropriation of social space by social groups at a given time and in a given space offer an opportunity to see how social changes develop in the world around us. It suggests not a synthesis, but the further opening of dialogue among diverse social players. The essay proposes that social cartography has the potential to be a useful discourse style for demonstrating the attributes and capacities, as well as the development and perceptions of people and cultures operating within the social milieu. Because society can be mapped by this method to include all parts of the society, social cartography offers a new and effective method for visually demonstrating the sensitivity of postmodern influences for opening social dialogue, especially to those who have experienced disenfranchisement by modernism. Illustrations include maps representing both modernist and postmodernist interpretations of cartography. The increased flexibility in representational value of the postmodernist version is demonstrated. Sociology and Cartography research courses need to include this method in addition to the traditional forms of research in the social sciences. (DK)

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Invitation to a Postmodern Reflection on Critical Social Cartography

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Abstract

This essay demonstrates how, through the employment of a "social cartography"--the creation of maps addressing questions of location in the social milieu--social research may move one step further as it struggles to distance itself from the positivistic restraints of modernism. Social cartography suggests not a synthesis, but the further opening of dialogue among diverse social players, including those individuals and cultural clusters who want their "mininarratives" included in the social discourse. We propose that social cartography has the potential to be a useful discourse style for demonstrating the attributes and capacities, as well as the development and perceptions of people and cultures operating within the social milieu. It offers a new and effective method for visually demonstrating the sensitivity of postmodern influences for opening social dialogue, especially to those who have experienced disenfranchisement by modernism.

Rolland Paulston received his doctorate from Teachers College, Columbia University (1966) and is a past president of the Comparative and International Education Society (1976). His studies of social and educational change in Sweden, Peru and Cuba--and in numerous social and ethnic movements, have been reported in a variety of scholarly publications. Now Professor of Administrative and Policy Studies, his current research project uses phenomenographic and critical cartographic approaches to map ideas in educational policy discourse. Recent project publications by Professor Paulston can be found in the AERA Encyclopedia of Education Research (1992) and the Latin American Research Review (27:1992). He taught as a Noted Scholar at the University of British Columbia in 1991. Correspondence to Rolland Paulston, School of Education, FQ 5M34, University of Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

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Invitation to a Postmodern Reflection on Critical Social Cartography[1]

> "The basic idea of phenomenography is that each phenomenon can be experienced or conceptualized in a limited number of qualitatively different ways and it is the task of phenomenography to map these possible understandings."[2]

> "I view maps as a kind of language...as reciprocal value-laden images used to mediate different views of the world."[3]

How might comparative researchers enhance the presentation of their findings, particularly when their findings focus on the diffusion of heterogeneous orientations? We are concerned with developing in our comparative discourse a visual dialogue as a way of communicating how we see the social changes developing in the world around us. Visual images, depicting on the two dimensional surface of paper or screen the researcher's perceived application, allocation, or appropriation of social space by social groups at a given time and in a given place, offer such an opportunity. Mapping social geography is similar to both cognitive mapping and geographic cartography, creating through "a process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls, and decodes

information about the relative locations and attributes of phenomena in...[the] everyday geographical environment."[4] This process consists of "aggregate information...acquisition, amalgamation, and storage" producing a product depicting space peculiar to a point in time. Applied to comparative education, social maps help to present and decode immediate and practical answers to the perceived locations and relationships of persons, objects and perceptions in the social milieu. The interpretation and comprehension of both theoretical constructs and social events can be facilitated and enhanced by mapped images.[5]

It was Peter Hackett who concluded "that without metaphor, allegory and a thick description of the world around us there is no basis for comparative study or analysis."[6] We concur in this observation for it counsels anyone in comparative studies to be aware of the possibilities of exclusions. In what we as researchers seek, as well as what we report, should be found the "basic source of unity in our experience."[7]

In education and other academic fields, change has often raised more questions than it has answered, raised more fears than it has calmed, and raised more arguments than it has settled. Contemporary change advocacies have the attention of many who also express their ideas about how change should proceed. What rationales for new discourse methods have comparative researchers recently introduced? How does the map

fulfill the needs addressed by these rationales?

Invitations to a Postmodern Reflection

Presented in this essay are the concerns of three academic practitioners, one in comparative education and two in geographic cartography, who have called on colleagues in these areas to move their respective academic fields toward a postmodernist integration, to become more explicative, comparative, and open to heterogeneous orientations in their postmodern academic discourse. Postmodernism is not promoted here, but, rather the possibilities for comparative fields to expand their knowledge bases through an appropriate, thoughtful, and skillful development and application of social maps. The postmodern turn opens the way to critical mapping exercises.

In presenting a somewhat eclectic argument that postmodernism "should be a central concept in our comparative education discourse," Val Rust calls for the application of postmodernist theories to strengthen emerging representations of reality.[8] Rust notes that Foucault believes there is a need to move beyond determinism and universals while Lyotard discerns in the postmodern a distrust of modernist metanarratives. Noted also by Rust is Richard Rorty's observation that metanarratives are "the theoretical crust of convention that we all carry and tend to universalize."[9] Postmodernism calls for deconstructing those universal metanarratives of social valuation common to the modernist

era, metanarratives seen as totalizing, standardizing, and predominating.

Rust finds postmodern discussions and criticisms address the history of modernist society and culture as it was ingrained and justified by a world view obsessed with focusing on time and history. These two measures of the modernist world were not always separate cognitive structures, but links holding each at least parallel to the other, if not often viewed as the same entity. Rust contends, moreover, that postmodernism's liberating influences transcend not only combined time and history, but combined space and geograpny as well. Space becomes more important than time in our postmodern mapping discourse.

Rust entreats comparative educators to relocate into this space, to extract from modernity the metanarratives to be dismantled, metanarratives containing the multiple small narratives previously hidden in the invisible space of modernist society. The small narratives that Rust suggests we draw our attention tc can be the focus of comparative mapping efforts in postmodern social science.

Social cartography might also be seen to advance Heidegger's argument that "truth" is best understood not as correspondence or correctness of assertion or representation, but as the absence of concealment, i.e., what the Greeks called aletheia. When literary space is revealed in visual space, the map becomes a kind of language, the mode, or

dichtung (literally a saying) in which what we see as truth happens.[10] Dichtung is prior to the technical instrumental understanding of language. Like Cartesian metaphysics in general, regional fields such as linguistics, cybernetics, artificial intelligence, etc., are seen by Heidegger to be impossible without the more primordial, pre-reflective realm with which dichtung proper is associated. This language realm inaugurates a "world" and gives to things their appearance and significance. It is perhaps best uncovered in poetry using literary theory. Here the essence of language is not propositional form, but openness to a resonance or nexus of relations out of which the "real" and the "human" may emerge.[11]

Suggesting as does Rust that the search for "the silent blueprint to life means looking in areas of darkness," a searching for new growth in an old growth forest, Star focuses our attention on these small and previously hidden narratives, on making the invisible visible.[12] Her five rules help us track omissions and understand the mechanisms of power tied to the deletion of certain kinds of practical and intellectual work. They also provide a powerful rational for opening up opportunities to all participants and communities in an intellectual field.

We consider it possible for the comparative studies of social narratives to develop similarly to those of the studies and cartographic representations of the land. As social

cartographers we look for the small and large erosions and eruptions of the social masses for the opportunity to map changes, to analyze and interpret events. We take the event and make it consumable, a commodity for our readers, by filtering, fragmenting, and re-elaborating it "by a whole series of industrial procedures...into a finished product, into the material of finished and combined signs."[13]

Mapping social space is an effective method for addressing Rust's thoughtful arguments calling for a postmodernist application to strengthen emerging representations of reality. There is, however, much we must learn and understand to become effective mappers. This requires an association with a academic field experienced in representing geographic space on a map. For this reason we introduce in our invitation to a postmodern reflection utilizing a social cartography two cartographers who have observed in their field several of the same concerns and needs addressed by Rust.

A leading advocate of the postmodern enterprise in geography and its practice of cartography, J. B. Harley, suggests that cartographers both in academia and in the field might consider postmodernity's potential for revitalizing their cartographic efforts. Harley contends that the premise of cartography has long been foundational, that map makers were compelled to create knowledge limited by scientific or objective standards.[14] Earlier than Harley, however, Robert

McNee[15] observed that the tenacity of the cartographic process and its practitioners in the retention of positivist traditions could be attributed to their attraction to both the label and the role playing associated with being objective scientists. However, McNee and Harley differ in their explanations for the reasons cartography remained steadfastly grounded in positivism.

McNee argues that during the long history of cartography, this tenacious holding to the positivist ideal of the objective scientist resulted in the continued essentialist construction of textual metanarratives, both in the maps and in the semiotic representations used by the mapper. Harley, however, considers a more potent influence, arguing that after the last three decades, when much of academia moved toward or into the postmodern enterprise, cartographers adhered to a modernist style of application of knowledge, not only out of a concern for their reputations as objective scientists, but because of the influence modernist power structures had on the creation of maps. Harley states the field might better be served now if the power structures gave way to the new ideas postmodernism makes applicable for a critical cartography, a cartography permitting the interpretation of the map as well as opening the map to the intent and need of those who use it and those who assume the responsibility for its creation.

Harley makes an important distinction between the external power and the internal powers regulating the creation

and reading of maps--or, by extension, any texts. External power, emanating from patrons, monarchs, and elite institutions, controlled what went into the map. Internal power was "embedded in the map text," determined by the inclusions and exclusions of information written into the map at the will of the external power. Internal power limited all map readers to only the knowledge included by the external power, to what Foucault calls a "spatial panopticon."[16] The reader had no practical way for developing an awareness of the excluded knowledge. These modernist maps that served to control and limit the knowledge of readers who were not included in the power structure are similar to the modernist objects that Baudrillard suggests "can be historically and structurally defined as the exaltation of signs based on the denial of the reality of things."[17]

Figure 1 develops the relationships in Harley's suggested top-down power influences as they controlled what little knowledge the reader could gather from a modernist map.[18] These relationships, developed by Harley and visually reproduced on the map in Figure 1, example what we characterize the comedy of pageant; i.e., a display that Baudrillard finds to be "bogus to the extent that it presents itself as authentic in a system whose rationale is not at all authenticity, but the calculated relations and abstractions of the sign."[19]

[FIGURE 1 about here]

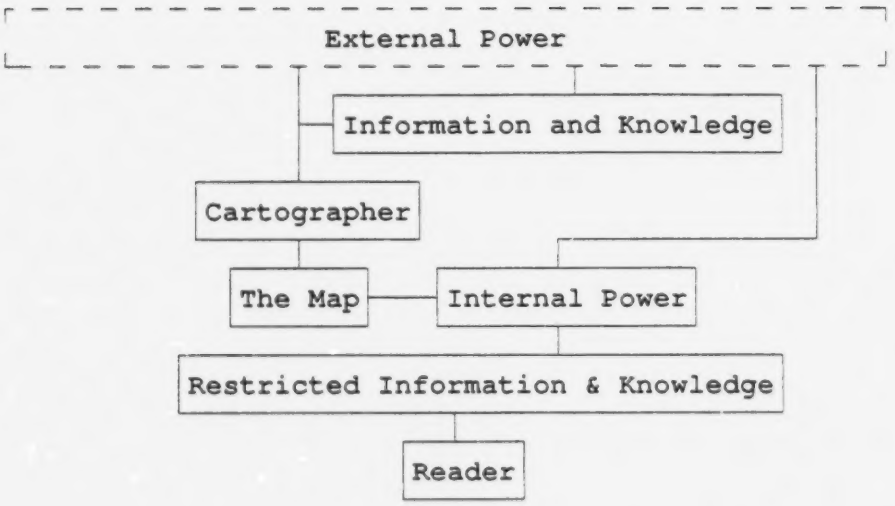


Figure 1. A map deliberately designed in the modernist fashion for its heuristic value illustrating what Harley considers the foundational constraints limiting both the scope and the function of cartography as well as the reader's access to knowledge from maps created under modernism's authority.

Note that in Figure 1 there are no "markedly different proposals also seeking to improve the rigor and relevance of research in education [or cartography] by encouraging tolerance, reflection, and the utility of multiple approaches in knowledge production and use."[20] Foucault offered a similar criticism of the modernist social science, finding it to be a contemplation of space and time that treated space as "the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile" while time was "richness, fecundity, life, dialectic."[21] This restricted perspective attributed by positivists to the concept of space is represented in the style of the map presented in Figure 1, where space is restricted because it is controlled; both Harley's description and our mapping of it deliberately treat space as dead, fixed, undialectical, and immobile.

Concerned as are Rust and Harley with overcoming the problems of modernism's positivist treatment of space is urban cartographer Edward Soja who contends that in the past "space more than time, geography more than history, [hid] consequences from us."[22] Arguing as we do for the use of space to represent space as it is claimed by cultural clusters, Soja advocates making space and geography the primary focus and framework for the study of social phenomenon; situating the whereness of cultures and the events driving their realities are a better framing choice for the questions we ask and the answers we receive as we pursue

meaning in the postmodern world.[23]

Soja portrays modernism's purpose and influence during its extended epoch as a deliberate obfuscation of the spatiality of the map, "blurring [the reader's] capacity to envision the social dynamics of spatialization."[24] Postmodernism encourages us to detail the map, to eliminate the blurring, particularly where multiple mininarratives are revealed to occupy space both geographical and ideological where only a metanarrative served before. Advocating space as the primary starting point for research diminishes the importance of time and creates the opportunity for researchers to apply to their craft the critical cartography advocated by Soja. Postmodern space is the research domain containing the objects to be mapped--the multiple social ideologies and convictions arising from modernism. The postmodern researcher in comparative education, who may also become a postmodern cartographer, prizes both the space within the social milieu and the possibilities for a more inclusive mapping of that space, motivating the creation of multiple, inclusive, critical--i.e., antifoundational--maps.

Recall how Figure 1 shows external power's relationship to the creating and reading of knowledge from the map text, and consider whether this map represents a construction appropriate to Rust's argument for "the critical task of disassembling these narratives [while increasing] our attention to small narratives."[25] Clearly, Figure 1 is not

an appropriate model for Rust's argument. Rather, this figure authenticates Charles Hampden-Turner's comment that the "visual-spatial imagery of the human is a style of representation largely missing from the dominant schools of psychology and philosophy, [so] there can be no pretence of impartially cataloguing the status quo. The image-breakers are still in charge."[26] Our advocacy of social cartography has as its purpose the breaking of the image-breakers, the encouraging of comparative analysts to become image-makers and, in doing so, including a visual-spatial imagery of the human in comparative discourse.[27]

Rust's and Harley's challenges to their respective fields of comparative education and cartography encourage illustrating the global vision reflecting the spatial as advocated by Soja. We suggest that the prospect of a critical cartography offers comparative education possibilities for examining educational problems "in the light of culturally determined needs, objectives, and conditions."[28] What is this social cartography we advocate? What is the benefit of critical social cartography to the practice of comparative education?

Rationales for and Examples of Critical Social Cartography

A map such as we advocate is a unique object. Ini ially, each map, as is true of any written discourse, is the property of its creator--it contains some part of that person's knowledge and understanding of the social system. As a mental

construction representing either the physical world or the ideologies of cultures, maps can be characterized as what Baudrillard's translators describe as "art and life."[29] They note that Baudrillard finds art and life shape the system of objects, that a purely descriptive system "carve[s] out a truth."[30] While we find maps can shape the system of objects, we suggest that rather than carve out a truth they instead portray the mapper's perceptions of the social world, locating in it multiple and diverse intellectual communities, leaving to the reader not a truth, but a portrait--art representing the possibilities portrayed by being open to the world's multiple cultural truths.

Viewed from this perspective, then, what Baudrillard calls "the artistic enterprise" includes the map in the sense that the map is a descriptive system consisting of a collection of knowledge objects around a "point where forms connect themselves according to an internal rule of play."[31] The map reveals information about space by showing that information scaled within the boundaries of another space. Mapping the elements of comparison models contributes to our comprehension of the social, providing a point of departure for new research as well as for new maps resulting from the knowledge generated by that research.

An example of this type of anti-foundational map is Paulston's macro mapping of paradigms and theories uncovered using semiotic analysis in sixty exemplary comparative

education texts.[32] Shown in Figure 2, this map embodies Soja's concern for "a social ontology in which space matters from the very beginning."[33] It is a study of society establishing "a primal material framework [of] the real substratum of social life."[34] This heuristic map identifies intellectual communities and relationships, illustrates domains, suggests a field of interactive ideas, and opens space to all propositions and ways of seeing in the social milieu. What appears as open space within the global representation is space that can be claimed by intellectual communities whose discourse is not yet represented on the map. It is conceivable that the part of the world Paulston draws our attention to does look like this, but it is his perception of the world derived from textual exegesis; however, it is probably not what Baudrillard would consider a map carving out the "truth." If not truth, but only one possible way of rationally seeing some identifiable parts of the world, how should or can it be considered as a relevant contribution by those who read the map?

[FIGURE 2 about here]

By creating on the spatial surface of paper an image depicting a social framework, Paulston is addressing Rust's recommendation to focus on mininarratives rather than metanarratives. His situating of paradigms and theories on the spatial surface of paper grants to those constructs the mapper's recognition of their space in the real world.

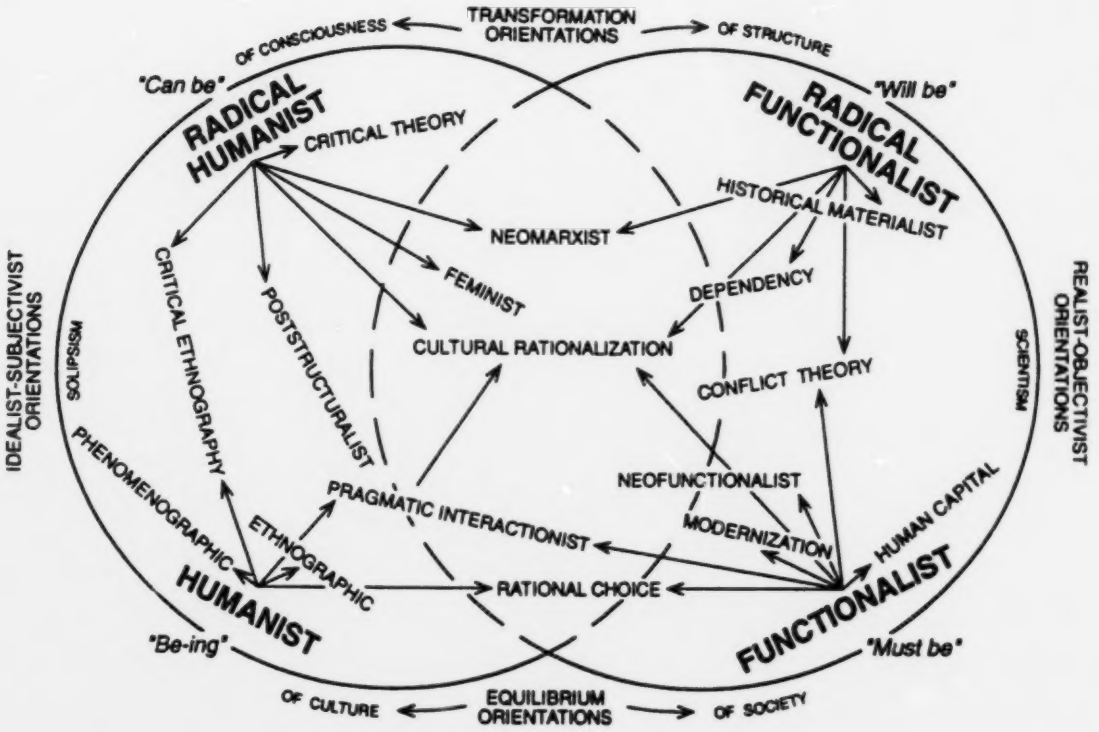


Figure 2: With the original caption reading "A macro mapping of paradigms and theories in comparative and international education texts seen as an intellectual field," Paulston's postmodern map opens to all claimants room for inclusion in the social milieu. Source: Paulston, 1993.

Readers may question whether the depiction is accurate, whether the allocation of space is appropriate, and whether the genealogy and relationships suggested by the arrows have developed or are developing in the directions Paulston indicates. If a reader has answers to these questions, the map is available for dialogue; if a reader disagrees, he need only redefine the space. Paulston's map can be viewed as a "holistic, context dependent, and integrative" treating of paradigmatic knowledge not as "isolated facts, but as integrated wholes."[35] Spatial mapping of how paradigms and theories are represented in texts also moves comparative education away from a modernist "system for classifying societal data,"[36] away from structuring knowledge as illustrated in Figure 1, so that knowledge is no longer viewed as positivist data but more pragmatically as "integrated forms of culture."[37]

Burbules and Rice's analysis of postmodern sensibility notes Derrida's insistence "that the relations that bind and the spaces that distinguish cultural elements are themselves in constant interaction,"[38] a consideration highly adaptable to the relations Paulston shows between the numerous paradigms and theories illustrated on the space of his map. They find in Derrida the premise that any "particular formalization is...nothing more than the momentary crystallization and institutionalization of one particular set of rules and norms--others are always possible."[39] While we reject the

sense of institutionalization as a concept to be understood or read into postmodern maps, we acknowledge that postmodern maps such as illustrated in Figure 2 are a formalization--doing so with the express caveat that the material of the map is putty in the hands of both map readers and map makers, rather than authenticating an orthodoxy. Thus, Figure 2 is proposed as a "momentary crystallization" of the space claimed by social and ideological paradigms and theories; it is mutable space available to be both transferred to and captured by others.

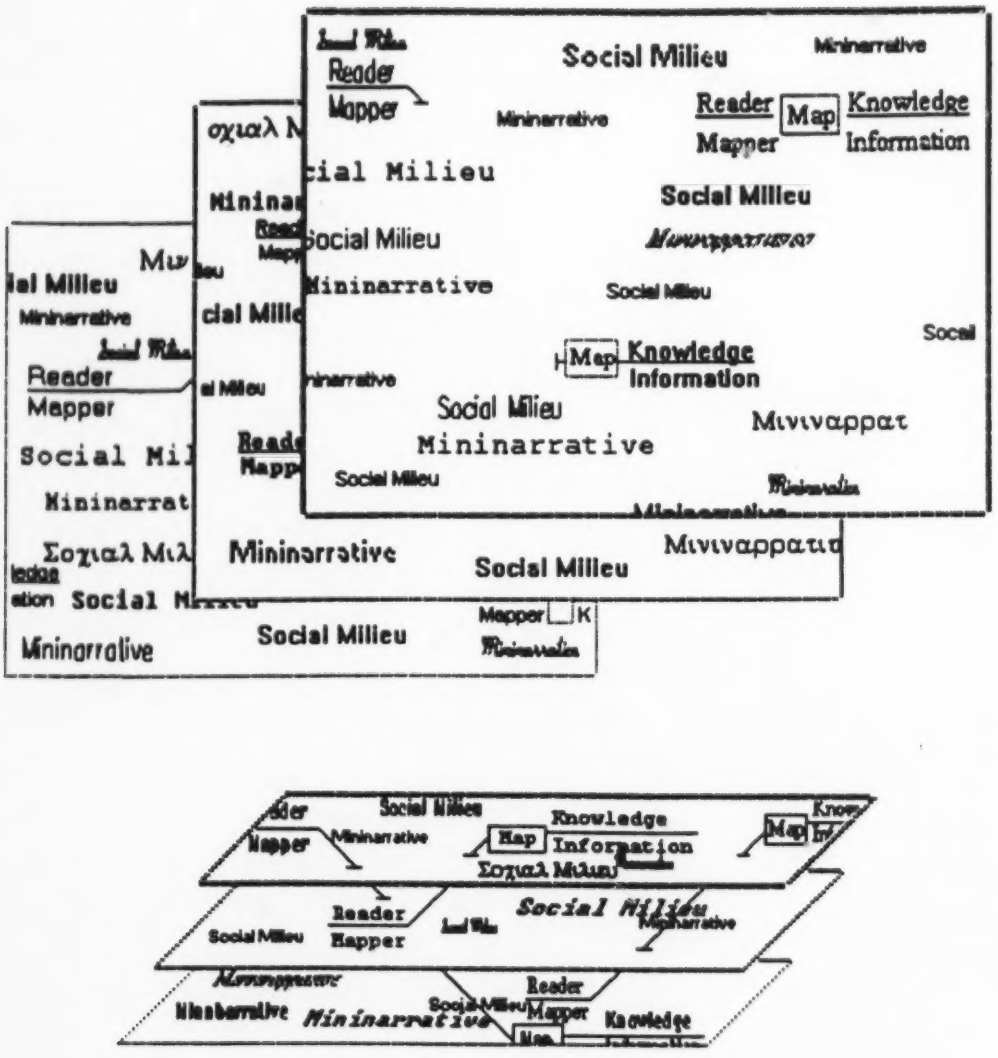
Further, Figure 2 does not conform to the model for modernist maps shown in Figure 1; in Figure 2 there are no powers controlling the disbursement of knowledge. Figure 2 develops as proposed in Figure 3 where the power to read and map the world is so equally shared that it is not even a category in the developmental model. With this figure we attempt to incorporate into our postmodern social science what Rust identifies as Derrida's, Foucault's, and Lyotard's "emphasis [on] the contingency of meaning and the slipperiness of language" (p. 611), revealed in the ease of movement between levels of the reader/mapper--knowledge/information component. Modernism's "deep structures of language...which allow us to attach ultimate meanings to words" (Rust, p. 611), as well as, we are arguing, the deep structure of a metaculture and the imposition of an ultimate meaning predicated on that culture, are negated by the ready access of both the reader/mapper to all levels and the

knowledge/information transferred and readily available through and across the levels of the map. Our recognition of the reader/mapper as a single person or as two or more persons, inseparable in terms of their labor, extends the participative understanding inherent in the postmodern, in contrast to the detachment of the reader from the work such as still revealed in literature and the arts through the use of the term reader/spectatorship.[40]

[FIGURE 3 about here]

The reader is a person who observes the social milieu. The mapper is a person who creates a map reporting observations of the milieu. The reader and mapper may be the same person, or there may be multiple readers of the social milieu whose observations are mapped by a single mapper or by multiple mappers situated within various cultural clusters. The new map provides new knowledge/information to be incorporated into the social milieu. The new knowledge and information have the potential for changing the social milieu, creating new social spaces that readers again observe and mappers again address.

The overleafed space in this map is also much different from that in Figure 1 where external power controlled and conditioned space, where the external power of the map restricted and contrived knowledge distribution. In Figure 3 the only limitations are those of the area determined by the vertical or horizontal surfaces used by the mapper to outline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social space in miniature. Made possible in this map are an infinite number of mappers and maps--unlimited perspectives of the social milieu, all contributing to the knowledge/information of how space is claimed and used. Figure 3 suggests the potential and the need for open, global mapping by representing the diversity of ideologies and convictions through the use of a diversity of fonts and multiple levels. The essence of Figure 3 is suggested by Rust, who writes "a type of direct democracy [empowers claimants with] a sense of connectedness with life's events and decisions" (Rust, p. 619).

Figure 3 confirms there is a continuity of space and time as Star suggests,[41] but neither is dependent on the other. Time certainly is continuous and experienced; while it is biologically limited it is socially flowing or rupturing. While space is in a time it is given to a social context and is subject to change just as the space of the land is made conditional by natural erosions and eruptions. A calm sea or a dormant volcano slows geological time, leaving little trace of time's passing. A violent sea or an erupting volcano quickens the geological pace, creating changes for the cartographer to map. So it is with the measure and mapping of society. The more ebbing and flowing, the more movement and upheaval there are in a society, the more changes readers and mappers may perceive. However, social mappers need not await the abatement of the societal seas or the cooling of the

societal land to begin their project. They may map immediately--i.e. Figure 2 and Figure 4 (below)--as the erosions and eruptions affect the social milieu. The potential for comparative immediacies and simultaneities inspires continual mapping and remapping.

Rust has further opened comparative education to its postmodern potential, observing "ours is a world, no longer of reality, but of simulation, where it is no longer possible to separate the real from the image."[42] Now maps offer comparative education a tool for expanding conceptual presentations and interpretations. In the hands of the comparative educator, maps can be a part of research directed, as Sack suggests, "at reconstructing... chains of influence so that we will know what parts of the society are interrelated."[43] Figure 3 provides a model for study and interpretation of that chain of influence, linking the components of the social milieu through social mappers and the social map. Revealing knowledge of the locations and interrelations in the milieu of diverse societies and cultures, and then mapping them in relation to one another, is the essence both of a critical cartography and of comparative studies.

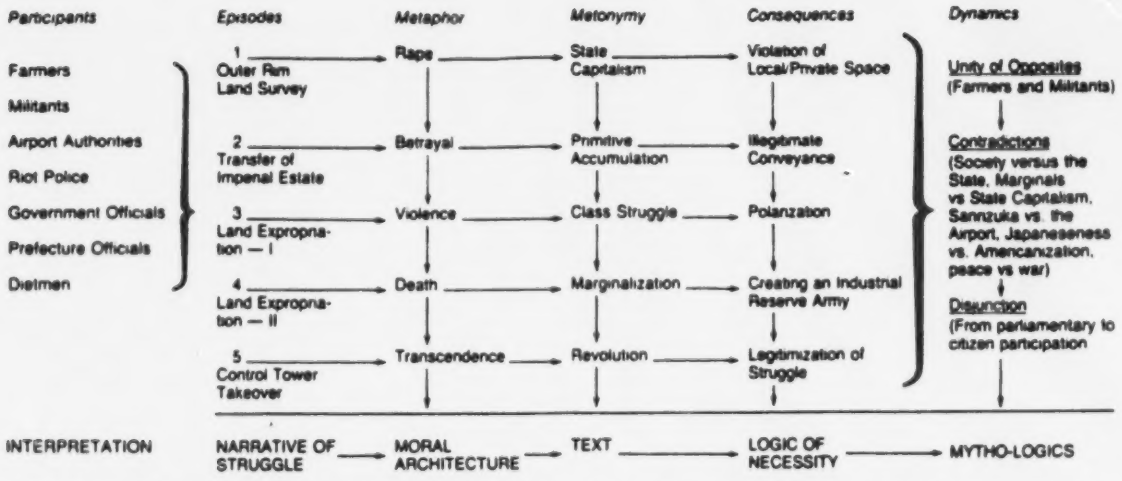
One study showing considerable potential for social cartography is Apter's phenomenographic representation of the history of the Sanrizuka movement and its extensive use of non-formal education to oppose the construction of the Narita

Airport outside Tokyo[44] (Figure 4). Apter isolates within this confrontation a series of five distinctive episodes, each identified with a metaphor (i.e., transference) and a metonymy (i.e., substitute naming) "derived from interviews and written descriptions of events provided by those deeply involved in the movement."[45] Apter describes the spatial bounds of his study as they were set by the participants of the revolt, "defining a larger cosmological space, underground to a sacred soil, above ground to the sky itself."[46] In this way, Apter provides a readily visual three dimensional physical cartography. The questions raised and considered at Sanrizuka not only addressed whether the land would be retained by traditional farmers or converted to use for a modern airport, but because the land was to be used for an airport, the questions involved the symbolic and real use of the air above the land.

[FIGURE 4 about here]

In addition to the physical cartography of Sanrizuka, and politically and socially extended beyond its bounds, is a moral cartography Apter identifies through the participants' metaphors and metonymies. This aspect of Apter's study coincides with our purpose noted above, that accuracy and inclusion in a critical, postmodern, social cartography, considers not only the space being mapped, but the perceptions offered by the claimants of that space.[47]

The ordering of information in Apter's figure of the



This diagram, derived in part from the work of Roland Barthes, Claude Levi-Strauss, Edmund Leach, Paul Ricoeur, and Pierre Bourdieu, describes episodes of violence as they are interpreted by the participants themselves. The meanings given as metaphors and metonymies were derived from interviews and written descriptions of events provided by those deeply involved in the movement. Together they form a narrative of moral outrage and a radical text. They constitute both the moral force and logical integrity of the movement and make convincing, at least to followers, the idea that such a small group of participants can win such a big victory. The ingredients of the ideology represent what Levi-Strauss has called a mytho-logics. Evidence is provided by the actual episodes. A complete and total system, the mytho-logics serves as an interior discipline of language and an ordering of signs. By the same token, what orders within is disordering without. It captures certain critical ambiguities of modern life in Japan, ambiguities which are widely felt but rarely articulated, the shock value of the incidents attracting outside clienteles.

Figure 4: Captioned by Apter as "Two Crossroads and a Terrain as a Semiotic Space," this figure derives its phenomenology (episodes and consequences) from phenomenography (narrative-dependent content).
Source: Apter, 1987, p. 250.

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events at Sanrizuka offers opportunities to create multiple maps. Our single concern with the information provided is that the metaphors and metonymies Apter identifies with the five episodes of Sanrizuka would seem to be appropriate only from the perspectives of the farmers and militants--it is doubtful the other five participants he identifies on the map would use these terms to describe the events. So when Apter writes in his caption that the metaphors and metonymies "form a narrative of moral outrage and a radical text" he cannot be referring to the airport authorities or government officials, for example. We argue that not only would Apter's figure tell quite a different story when metaphors and metonymies from other participants were substituted, but that the mapping of the Sanrizuka struggle begun by Apter will require multiple overleafings, such as those shown in Figure 3, to represent accurately the perceptual semiotics of the multiple participants. We also recognize that the metaphors and metonymies offered by Apter are not qualified by the metanarrative of persons empowered by modernism, but of the mininarratives of those persons who fought for and attained power identified in a postmodern setting--Sanrizuka, the site of Tokyo's Narita Airport.

Conclusion

We propose, first, that the structures of multiple education and knowledge systems can be recreated in one or more maps, images of a social cartography where the space of

the social map reflects the effect of social change on real space; and, second, that comparative education researchers consider representing that space through the creation of maps.

Our rationale for this proposal is that the map provides the mapper and reader a better understanding of the social milieu and gives all persons the opportunity to enter a dialogue to show where they believe they are in society. The map reveals both acknowledged and perceived social inclusions while leaving space for further inclusions of social groups and ideas. Whether the map is considered a metaphorical curiosity or accepted as a more literal representation, it offers comparative researchers an opportunity to situate the world of ideas in a postmodern panorama, disallowing the promotion of an orthodoxy while enhancing the possibility of a critical pragmatism.

We neither believe nor intend to convey that maps can replace spoken or written discourse; the research article will remain the primary method for reporting research findings. Also, while academics may originate maps, the readers who are members of a particular claimant group can view the map as an opportunity to strengthen their claims by citing or rebutting original mapping efforts as well as the knowledge and information the map offers. "We are in for an extended period of learning to work together as a diverse yet interactive global community of scholars. This situation suggests a continuing need for goodwill, translation, and maps to help us

see a shifting theoretical landscape."[48] However, it seems evident now that efforts to work together will extend beyond academia, embracing those cultural clusters whose activities and social space are being mapped. If we are to develop rules for accuracy and inclusion in a critical, postmodern, social cartography, we should attempt to envelop not only the space being mapped, but the perceptions of the claimants of that space.

1.For comments on earlier drafts, we thank colleagues Alex Ducanis, Noreen Garman, Mark Ginsburg, Peter Hackett, Maureen McClure, David Plank and John Weidman.

2.F. Marton, "Phenomenography: Exploring Different Concepts of Reality. In Qualitative Approaches to Education, ed. D. M. Fetterman. (New York: Praeger, 1988). p. 196. Marton sees phenomenography as "a research method...developed at Gothenburg University to study human understanding of specific phenomena." He argues that because "the different ways we see the world are usually invisible...we are trying to look with them [the students] and see the world as they see it. According to this reasoning, mastering is less a question of applying knowledge and procedures to phenomena, than of seeing phenomena in particular ways [and discovering] categories of description." This, Marton concludes, will help us "arrive at truly effective ways of teaching by revealing educationally critical differences in our understandings of the world around us." See his perceptive study "Phenomenography and 'the art of teaching all things to all men'." Qualitative Studies in Education 5/3 (July-September 1992). pp. 256-257, 266.

3.J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power." In The Iconography of Landscape. eds. D. Cosgrove and S.Daniels. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p. 278.

4.R. M. Downs and D. Stea, "Cognitive Maps and Spatial Behavior: Process and Products." In Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior, ed. R. M. Downs and D. Stea. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1973). p. 9.

5.B. Latour, "Drawing Things Together." In Representation in Scientific Practice, eds. M. Lynch and S. Woolgar. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1988). p. 33.

6.P. Hackett, "Aesthetics as a dimension for comparative study." Comparative Education Review 32 (1988). p. 389.

7.Ibid, p. 391.

8.V. Rust, "Postmodernism and its comparative education implication," Comparative Education Review 34 (1990). p. 610.

9.Ibid, p. 616.

10.The possibility for uncovering language in visual space also would advance Rust's postmodernist project, one dedicated to opening-up the world to reveal its interwovenness of being and humanity. "Proponents of postmodernism suggest that a mass-oriented society is obsolete. Our decision-making apparatus must be altered to allow for a system based on multiple, rather than majority, rule." (Rust, p. 618). Following the advice of Burbules and Rice, who write "critical self-awareness is a step toward

changing our practice" [N. C. Burbules and S. Rice. "Dialogue Across Difference: Continuing the Conversation." Harvard Educational Review 61 (November, 1991). p. 412.], we gently suggest Rust's textual fashioning of an advocacy for a postmodern turn occasionally exhibits the orthodoxy of modernist rule-making. We have become aware of just how difficult is the task of breaking the modernist mold. In the present article we have struggled with modernist language through every draft. Postmodern thought, we have found--like its architecture and art--still prefers the readily identifiable paints, metals, plumbing, wiring, words, and syntax of modernity. While the craft of modernity and postmodernity are the same, however, the array of the materials prefers subtle variations from the modernist style. Often perceptibly deplored by the postmodern turn is the "must" imperative. (see Rust, pp. 625-626) While we do not insist or encourage others to join us in vacating that modernist imperative and its kith in postmodern discourse, we are excited by the prospect of being met by others who choose to build and style their discourse as we have attempted to do.

11. In poetry, language can be seen as a mode of bringing a world to disclosure where the world and things are carried over and appropriated to each other in the moment of disclosure. In his accessible analysis of Heidegger's ideas, Timothy Clark illustrates the opening-out and decentering possibilities of dichtung as a mode of appropriation with a poem by Charles Tomlinson which begins:

Poem

space
window
that looks into itself

a facing
both and
every way

See T. Clark, Chapter One, "Overcoming aesthetics" in Derrida, Heidegger, Blanchot: Sources of Derrida's notion and practice of literature. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). pp. 20-63. Tomlinson's poem is found in its entirety in his Written on Water, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972). p. 31. Like this poem, social cartography may be seen to constitute something new. It does not attempt to merely copy or objectively describe what it appropriates. Rather, it creates new meanings by its spatial juxtaposition of images and signs. Exemplifying dichtung, mapping names "the open clearing whereby any object can emerge for any subject, (and) could not be reduced to the status of that which it renders possible" (Clark, 41).

12.S. L. Star, "The Sociology of the Invisible: The Primacy of Work in the Writings of Anselm Strauss." In Social Organization and Social Process: Essays in Honor of Anselm Strauss, ed. D. R. Maines. (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991). pp. 265-283. Star's rules to study invisible things include 1) The rule of continuity: phenomena are continuous. There is no dualism. Objects are created not by reacting to something, but by overleafing stratified networks originating from radically different points. Power is the imposition of a position in such space. 2) The rule of omniscience: everybody has several viewpoints and every view is only part of some picture, but not the whole picture. The revealing and articulating of viewpoints is the way we can understand something about truth, a fundamentally interactional, social phenomenon; 3) The rule of analytical hygiene--i.e., concepts are verbs, not nouns; 4) The rule of sovereignty: every standpoint has a cost; and 5) The rule of invisibility: successful claims to invisible phenomena require the assertion of power and the fundamental pluralism of human interaction.

13.J. Baudrillard, Revenge of the Crystal. (London: Pluto Press, 1990). p. 92.

14.J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," Cartographica 26, (1989). pp. 2-3.

15.R. B. McNee, "Perspective--Use It or Lose It," Professional Geographer 33 (February, 1981). p. 12.

16.A panopticon is defined as "a prison or workhouse so arranged that all parts of the interior are visible from a single point." Although the noun mated with the adjective "spatial" serves to make the point, we believe a better metaphor or vision of social cartography would be "panoptic space." This phrase, too, requires some clarification if it is to be contextually advantageous to our argument. First, the adjective "panoptic" typically means (1) "permitting the viewing of all parts or elements" or (2) "considering all parts or elements; all inclusive." Because these definitions require an omniscient perspective, we believe for the purposes of social cartography that to limit panoptic to mean "the total of those parts or elements being offered by the mapper for the readers' consideration" serves our ambition and requirement. Further, a definition of "space" suited to social and cognitive mapping is that associated with mathematics: "a system of objects with relations between the objects defined." From this argument, then, a working definition of the "panoptic space" we strive to map in our social cartography is "the total of those parts or elements of a system of objects defined by the social cartographer and presented for the consideration of all in the social milieu."

17.Baudrillard, p. 63.

18.An illustration of these relationships may be found in P. Foster, "C. Arnold Anderson: A Personal Memoir," and E. Epstein, "Editorial" in the Comparative Education Review 34/2 (May, 1991): pp. 215-221 and 211-214 respectively. Foster praises Anderson's contribution to a conservative, "gradualist "strategy for education and modernization, his "Puritan morality," and his ability "to test significant hypotheses in the context of more general theory." (p. 220). Epstein as disciple extols what he sees as the external power of Anderson's ideas and the foundational ethos of the Comparative Education Center at the University of Chicago. As editor of the Comparative Education Review, Epstein praises his mentor's "monumental contributions...the durability of his wisdom regarding educational policy and planning" (p. 211), and concludes that the Review under Epstein's control continues to reflect Anderson's perspective and carry "his imprint" (p. 213).

19.Baudrillard, pp. 35-36.

20.R. Paulston, "From Paradigm Wars to Disputatious Community," Comparative Education Review, (August, 1990). p. 396.

21.Foucault in Harley, 1989, 4.

22.E. Soja, Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory. (London: Verso, 1989). p. 71.

23.We might, however, take note of several recent feminist warnings to be wary of Soja's claims for supposedly democratic methodologies that in fact ignore realities of power and inequality. Attacks accusing Soja and others of "foundationalism" and "androcentrism" can be found in R. Deutsch, "Boys Town" and D. Massey, "Flexible Sexism." In Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 9, 1991.

24.Soja, p. 122.

25.Rust, pp. 625-626.

26.C. Hampden-Turner, Maps of the Mind. (New York: Collier Books, 1981). p. 8. Hampden-Turner sees anti-imagists alive and well today in the Puritan--cum--behaviorist intellectual tradition: "Modern behavioral science is thoroughly infused with Puritan ethics, for example, the idea of a scientist as a predicting and controlling agent for scientific determinism; the dogma of 'immaculate perception'; a preference for visible activity publicly verifiable, and the 'godly discipline' of rigorous experimental minutiae. There is the same rejection of speculative questions, of the private imaginings of subjective personality and reconciling schema in general" (p. 34).

27.W. J. T. Mitchell, Iconology: Image, Text, and Ideology. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

28.R. Raivola, "What is Comparison? Methodological and Philosophical Considerations," Comparative Education Review 29 (1985). p. 372.

29.P. Foss and J. Pefanis, "Translators' Note" in J. Baudrillard, Revenge of the Crystal. (London: Pluto Press, 1990). p. 11.

30.Ibid, p. 13.

31.Baudrillard, p. 27.

32.R. Paulston, "Comparative Education: Paradigms and Theories." In The International Encyclopedia of Education, eds. T. Husen and N. Postlethwaite. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993).

33.Soja, p. 7.

34.Soja, p. 119.

35.V. Masemann, "Ways of Knowing: Implications for Comparative Education," Comparative Education Review 34, (November, 1990). p. 465.

36.B. Holmes, "Paradigm Shifts in Comparative Education," Comparative Education Review 28 (November, 1984). p. 591.

37.Ibid., p. 469. The pragmatist view of knowledge stands in stark contrast to the positivist correspondence theory of truth. For neo-pragmatists like R. Rorty, it would be useless to ask if the vocabulary of one intellectual community rather than another is closer to truth and reality. Rather, different vocabularies--and maps--serve different purposes, and clearly there is no such thing as a purpose that is closer to reality than another purpose. See his "Pragmatism as Anti-Representationalism" in Pragmatism: From Pierce to Davidson, ed. J. P. Murphy. (Boulder: Westview, 1990). p. 3.

38.Burbules and Rice, p. 400.

39.Ibid.

40.A. Huyssen, "Mapping the Postmodern," New German Review 33 (Fall 1984): p. 28.

41.Star, p. 277.

42.Rust, p. 622.

43.R. D. Sack, Conceptions of Space in Social Thought (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). pp. 16-17.

44.D. E. Apter, Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Postmodern Politics. (Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications, 1987). p. 250.

45.Ibid, p. 250.

46.Ibid, p. 248.

47.Attempts to create more democratic spaces friendly to elusive insight and multiple perspectives are also central concerns of postmodern architecture as well. For a wonderful example, see H. Muschamp, "Gehry's Disney Hall: A Matterhorn for Music." New York Times, Dec. 13, 1992. p. H34: "The building [like mapping] is generous both in inviting images and refraining from making them explicit...acoustics [sounds, like cultures, reverberating in space] and empathy [the understanding of the social cartographer] are the two forces driving the design...it promotes accessibility and erodes the barrier between the inside and outside...the building [and the map] achieves unity by encouraging individual viewers to quarry their own figures and abstract images...and inviting them to co-exist in one place. The place [like the definitive social-cultural map] will be the sum of the perceptions it involves."

48.R. Paulston, "A cognitive mapping of vision and division in comparative education texts," Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education 23/2 (1993).